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brown, or black; tu-ruru, moving, the change of the r to t being for euphony. The translation of the whole word would be, the breathing mouth of wood with the dark moving feathers. The other stem was named Hahak'takaru, from ra, the, this one; hak, from hakkow, breathing mouth of wood; taka, white; ru, from ruru, moving or swaying. The translation of the whole word would be, the breathing mouth of wood with the white moving or waving feathers.

Associated with these two feathered stems, and sharing with them the prominent place in the rites, was an ear of white corn. In addition there were required two small, round, straight sticks from the plum tree; a crotched stick, also of the plum tree; feathers from the tail of an owl and from the wings and tail of an eagle; two entire wings of an eagle; the heads of two woodpeckers; the head, neck, and breast of two ducks; a wildcat skin; a shell; two wooden bowls; a braid of buffalo hair; a braid of sweet grass; blue, green, and red clay; fat from a deer or buffalo, the animal having been consecrated; the nest of an oriole.

The clays, the fat, and the oriole's nest were furnished by the Ku'rahus. The nest was kept in secret and not allowed to be seen. All the articles except those furnished by the Ku'rahus were provided by the Father. Besides these he had to secure robes, ornamented garments, and regalia for the ceremonial clothing of the Son, his messenger, and his little child; also gifts to be bestowed on the entire party of the Children. He was assisted by contributions from the relatives and friends who had agreed to share with him the responsibilities and the rewards attending this ceremony. Food for the entertainment of the Children as well as for the maintenance of the Fathers during their absence from home had also to be provided.

It was the duty of the Son, the leader of the group called the Children, to provide a spacious lodge wherein the ceremony could take place, and also a proper camping site for all who accompanied the Fathers. He had also to secure the requisite return gifts to be made to the Fathers.

Each of the articles used in the ceremony had a general symbolism well known to the people, but their special significance was peculiar to these rites.

The feathered stem Haka'katittu (plate LXXXVI, page 38) was painted blue to symbolize the sky, the abode of Tira'wahut, the circle of the lesser powers. A long straight groove running its length was painted red, the symbol of life. The red groove was the path along which the spirits of the various birds traveled on their way to bring help.

Three split feathers from an eagle's wing were fastened to the stem as to an arrow, to give sure flight to the symbol-freighted stem. On it was tied the fan-shaped pendant of ten feathers from the mature brown or golden eagle. This eagle was called Kawas in the Hako ceremony. It represented the mother and led in certain of the rites. It is this feathered stem that was carried by the Ku'rahus. This eagle

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repaired. This transfer of the feathered stems from tribe to tribe tended to preserve the model unchanged. Sometimes the Son did not care to part with the feathered stems left with him, so when he inaugurated a party and was to be the Father he had a new set made. It was a matter of pride with some not to use again feathered stems that had once seen service.

The ear of white corn (plate LXXXVIII, page 44), called Atira, Mother,* represented the fruitfulness of the earth. The tip end was painted blue to represent the dome of the sky, the dwelling place of the powers, and four blue equidistant lines, running halfway down the ear, were the four paths along which the powers descended to minister to man.

The two straight sticks cut from the plum tree were bound to the ear of corn by a braid of buffalo hair. One stick projected above the tip of the ear about a hand's breadth, and the other extended about the same length below the butt; the lower end of this stick was pointed so that it could be thrust into the ground to hold the ear of corn in an upright position. To the other stick was tied a white, downy eagle feather. This feather had a double significance: It represented the high, white clouds that float near the dome of the sky where the powers dwell, thus indicating their presence with the corn. It also stood for the tassel of the cornstalk. The feather here refers to the male principle, the corn to the female. The plum-tree wood was chosen for the sticks because the tree is prolific of fruit. It symbolized a prayer for abundance.

The braid of buffalo hair represented the animal which supplied food and clothing for the people.

The two gourd rattles (plate LXXXIX, page 46) represented the gift of the squash to man and the breast of the mother. Around the middle of each a blue circle was painted from which depended four equidistant lines of the same color. The circle represented the base of the dome of the sky, and the four lines the four paths descending therefrom to earth.

The crotched stick (plate XC, page 48) used to support one end of the feathered stems when they were laid at ceremonial rest was significant of the fork in the tree where the eagle builds its nest. The use of the plum tree for this crotched stick expressed the desire for many young in the nest.

The sacred ointment with which the plum-tree sticks were anointed was made from the fat of the deer or buffalo mixed with red clay. The fat was taken from an animal that had been consecrated through certain prescribed rites which recognized man's dependence upon the powers for the gift of food. Fat symbolized plenty. Ritual songs speak of paths dropping fatness, referring to the trails made by those who carried the dressed meat from the hunting fields to the camp; such

*The common term for corn, nakus, was not used in the ceremony.

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Explanation by the Ku'rahus

I'hare is an exclamation, as when one suddenly remembers something of which he has been unmindful, because other things demanded his attention. The mind having been recalled to the subject, now appreciates its importance, gives it complete attention, and becomes absorbed by it. The word means, I remember, I perceive, I give heed. 539* 796*

The repetition of the word as we sing "I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!" indicates that our minds are dwelling upon the subject brought to our attention.

Heru is an exclamation of reverence, in recognition of a place whence prayers can be sent and whence help can come to us.

Awahokshu is that place—the place where Tira'wa atius, the mighty power, dwells. Below are the lesser powers, to whom man can appeal directly, whom he can see and hear and feel, and who can come near him. Tira'wahut is the great circle in the sky where these lesser powers dwell. They are like deputies or attributes of Tira'wa atius. The North Star and the Brown Eagle are among these lesser powers. A number of them are mentioned in this song and in the order in which they come near to man. We begin by calling upon Tira'wa atius, the father of all, but we do not address the power directly; we mention the holy place where the power dwells, Awahokshu, and send our thoughts and our voice there, that our cry may reach those who have the ability to come to us and to help us. 539* 792● 776 796*

I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe means that our minds are dwelling on our appeal to the powers.

Translation of Second Stanza

6, 7, 8 See the first stanza, lines 1, 2, 3.

9 Heru! Hoturu. He!

heru! an exclamation of reverence. See the first stanza, line 4.

Hoturu, the Winds, those that stand at the four cardinal points. This term is not used in ordinary speech. It refers to the supernatural powers, the Winds. The common word for wind is utawiu; windy, tihota.

he! part of I'hare! give heed! See the first stanza, line 4.

10 See the first stanza, line 2.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

I'hare I have explained already. It always means the same, the arresting and fixing of the mind upon a subject of importance.

Heru! Hoturu. He! we exclaim, as we call on Hoturu. Hoturu, the Winds, were the first of the lesser powers to come near to man, so they are the first to be mentioned in this appeal. They are invisible, but they are very strong (efficient); they are from the breath of Tira'wa and they give life to man. They stand at the four directions (cardinal points) and guard the paths that are there, the paths down

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*539 which the lesser powers must travel when they descend to bring help
● 772 to man.

776 In this stanza, we remember the power given by Tira'wa to the
*796 Winds, and we cry to Hotoru to come and give their help to us at this time, to give life to the sacred articles about to be prepared for the ceremony of the Hako.

I'hare, 'hare 'ahe means, as we sing it this time, that we are reflecting upon Hotoru, we are thinking of all that they bring to man, the breath by which he lives.

The Winds are always near us by night and by day.

Translation of Third Stanza

*539 11, 12, 13 See the first stanza, lines 1, 2, 3.

14 Heru! Shakuru. He!

*796 heru! an exclamation of reverence. See the first stanza, line 4.

[195] Shakuru, the Sun. This word is not used in ordinary speech; it refers to the supernatural power, the Sun, in its relation to man. The common term for sun is ti'rawakariki, sun standing.

he! part of i'hare! give heed! See the first stanza, line 4.

15 See the first stanza, line 2. The words in this line have special reference to the mind dwelling seriously upon Shakuru.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Shakuru, the Sun, is the first of the visible powers to be mentioned.
[776 It is very potent; it gives man health, vitality, and strength. Because
821] of its power to make things grow, Shakuru is sometimes spoken of as atius, father. The Sun comes direct from the mighty power above; that gives it its great potency.

As we sing this stanza, we think of all that the Sun can do for us and we cry to it, to come now and give potentiality to the sacred articles about to be made ready for use in this ceremony.

Translation of Fourth Stanza

16, 17, 18 See the first stanza, lines 1, 2, 3.

19 Heru! Ii'Ururu. He!

heru! an exclamation of reverence. See the first stanza, line 4.

h', the sign of breath; "breathing life."

[195 Ururu, the Earth. This term is not used in ordinary speech;
778] the common name for the earth is kahururu. Ii'Ururu refers to the supernatural power that belongs to the earth, the power to bring forth.

he! part of i'hare! give heed! See the first stanza, line 4.

20 See the first stanza, line 2. In the last line of the stanza the word i'hare implies reflection: "We reflect on Ii'Ururu!"

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Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When we begin this song and sing "H'Aars" (your father), we think of what we have been told in the first song, that Tira'wa atius is the father of all things; that he is the father of all those lesser powers which come to us in our visions and dreams. These lesser powers are many, but Tira'wa atius is the father of them all. 539* 796*

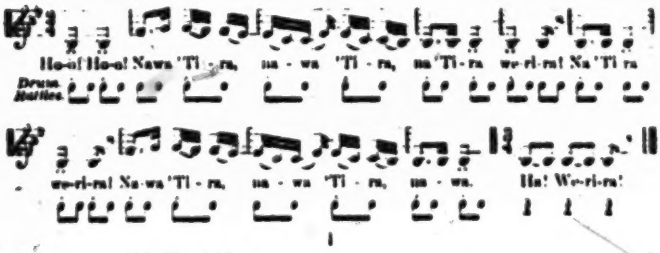
When we sing, "Hidhi!" we think that all these powers have their dwelling place on high, Tira'wahut, and that above them all is the abode of Tira'wa atius, their father. It is he who sends help to us by these lesser powers, because they alone can come to us so that we can see and feel them. [772]

When we have reached the west we pause and then begin the third circuit of the lodge. On this round we sing of Mother Corn, she who has led us on our journey, who has entered the lodge of the Son, and is now to walk before the Children with the promise of plenty.

THIRD SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 126.
• - Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy. [533*]



I

448 Ho-o! Ho-o!
449 Nawa 'Tira, nawa 'Tira, na 'Tira werira!
450 Na 'Tira werira!
451 Nawa 'Tira, nawa 'Tira, nawa. Ha! Werira!

II

452 Ho-o! Ho-o!
453 Ha wa 'Tira, ha wa 'Tira, ha 'Tira werai!
454 Ha 'Tira werai!
455 Ha wa 'Tira, ha wa 'Tira, ha 'Tira werai!

Translation of First Stanza

448 Ho-o! Ho-o! Introductory exclamations.
449 Nawa 'Tira, nawa 'Tira, na 'Tira werira!
nawa, now.
'tira, part of the word atira, mother. The term refers to the ear of corn.
na, part of nawa, now.
'tira, atira, mother.
werira, she comes.

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V

727 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
728 He! Hitahkasharu kitta sha-a; ha!
he! an exclamation calling attention to a teaching.
hitahkasharu; hit, from hittu, feather; sh, feminine prefix; ka from rakkaharu, night; sharu, dreams, visions. The composite word refers to the visions which pertain to the promises of the Hako ceremony.
kitta, the top; refers to the locality of Katasha, the dwelling place of the visions.
sha, lying down, as to rest.
a, vowel prolongation.
ha! behold!
729 See line 728.
730 Hari! Kitta shá-a; ha!
hari, truly; plural number.
kitta sha-a; ha! See line 728.
731 See line 728.

VI

732 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
733 He! Hitkasharu shkitta sha-a; ha!
he! an exclamation calling attention to a teaching.
hitkasharu, feather night dreams. See line 713.
shkitta, sh, feminine prefix; kitta, the top.
sha, lying down, reposing.
a, vowel prolongation.
ha! behold!
734 See line 733.
735 Hari! Shkitta sha-a; ha! See lines 730, 733.
736 See line 733.

Explanation by the Ku'ruhus

Visions come in the night, for spirits can travel better by night than by day. Visions come from Katasha, the place where they dwell. This place is up in the sky, just below where Tira'wa atius appointed the dwelling place of the lesser powers (eighth ritual, part 1, second song). Katasha, the place where the visions dwell, is near the dwelling place of the lesser powers, so they can summon any vision they wish to send to us. When a vision is sent by the powers, it descends and goes to the person designated, who sees the vision and hears what it has to say; then, as day approaches, the vision ascends to its dwelling place, Katasha, and there it lies at rest until it is called again.

This song tells about Katasha, where the visions dwell. This is its story:

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539*
796*

Translation of Third Stanza

1202 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1203 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots we ri tukuks ha!
hiri! harken!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
awi, a part of awiu, a picture.
kots, light blue (paint).
we, now.
ri, it.
tukuks, touching.
ha! behold!
1204, 1205 See line 1203.

Explanation by the Ku'ruhus

As we sing the third stanza the old man touches the forehead with the blue paint. The blue sky has reached the child; its forehead has been touched by the akuse of Tira'wa atius.

Translation of Fourth Stanza

1206 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1207 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots we ri ta iwa ha!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
awi, a part of awiu, a picture.
kots, light blue (paint).
we, now.
ri, it.
ta, a part of taokut, to touch.
iwa, downward movement.
ha! behold!
1208, 1209 See line 1207.

Explanation by the Ku'ruhus

302
772
796*

While we sing the fourth stanza the old man traces with the blue paint the lines he has made with the water, the brush of grass, the sacred ointment, and the red paint. In these lines we see the face of Tira'wa atius, the giver of life and power to all things (see figure 179).

The lines forming an arch across the forehead and down each cheek of the child represents the dome of the sky, the akuse of Tira'wa atius. The line from the middle of the forehead, the center of the arch, down the ridge of the nose is the breath of Tira'wa atius. It descends from the zenith, passing down the nose to the heart, giving life to the child.

FIG. 179. The symbol of Tira'wa

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174 *796 The leadership accorded to the corn indicates that an earlier form of the ceremony is to be sought among a people dependent upon agriculture, and the peculiar treatment of water would seem to have arisen in a semi-arid region. Again, the development in the purpose of the ceremony from the simple longing for offspring to the larger desire of establishing intertribal relationships was most likely to have taken place among peoples whose settled mode of life had fostered an appreciation of the benefits to be derived from peace and security.

Efforts to spread this ceremony among tribes less sedentary than those of the Mexican plateau and the Southwest may, on the one hand, have been prompted by prudential reasons, while on the other hand its adoption and promulgation over the wide territory occupied by the so-called hunting tribes marks the growth of political ideas and gives a higher place to these tribes in the line of social development than has usually been accorded them.

PURPOSE OF THE CEREMONY

*796 842 571 The purpose of this ceremony was twofold: first, to benefit certain individuals by bringing to them the promise of children, long life, and plenty; second, to affect the social relations of those who took part in it, by establishing a bond between two distinct groups of persons, belonging to different clans, gentes, or tribes, which was to insure between them friendship and peace.

In every tribe where the ceremony was known this twofold purpose was recognized, and by no tribal variation in the details of the rite was it lost sight of or obscured.

[174] From a study of this ceremony it seems probable that its original instigation was a desire for offspring, that the clan or kinship group might increase in number and strength and be perpetuated through the continuous birth of children.

The ceremonial forms here used to express this desire were undoubtedly borrowed from earlier ceremonies through which the people had been familiarized with certain symbols and rites representing the creative powers. Thus, the male and female cosmic forces, symbolized in greater or less detail by day and night, sun and moon, the heavens and the earth, are found in the Hako ceremony.

[772] 772 *796 The eagle and the ear of corn also represent in general the male and female forces, but each is specialized in a manner peculiar to these rites. There are two eagles; the white, representing the male, the father, the defender; and the brown, representing the female, the mother, the nestmaker (see pages 288, 289). In the treatment of these eagles the dual forces are still further represented. The feathers of the white or male eagle are hung upon a stem painted green to symbolize the earth, the female principle; while those of the brown or female eagle are hung upon the stem painted blue to symbolize the heavens, the

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male principle. The same treatment of the corn is observed. The ear of corn, which is born of Mother Earth, is symbolically painted to represent a living contact with the heavens. 772 796*

These symbolic articles thus treated are peculiar to this ceremony and essential to its rites. They express with unmistakable clearness the original instigating desire for children.

The second purpose of this ceremony, that of establishing a bond between two distinct groups of persons belonging to different clans, gentes, or tribes, which should insure between them friendship and peace, was probably an outgrowth of the first purpose and may have been based upon tribal experience in the practice of exogamy. 571 648 796*

In a tribe composed of clans or gentes, where exogamy prevailed, two factors tended to promote peace and security among the people, namely, children born to parents representing two distinct political groups, and rites which recognized a common dependence upon the supernatural and were obligatory upon all.

With the growth of social ideas the thought seems to have arisen that ties might be made between two tribes differing from and even competing with each other, through a device which should simulate those influences which had proved so effective within the tribe. The Father, representing one tribe, was the incentive force; he inaugurated the Hako party. The tie was made by a ceremony in which the feminine principle, represented by the corn and Kawas, was the dominant factor. Through this mother element life was given and a bond was established between the Father and a Son of another tribe. It is remarkable how close to the model this device of an artificial tie has been made to correspond.

Apart from the social and religious significance of the ceremony, it became a means of exchange of commodities between tribes. The garments, regalia, and other presents brought by the Fathers to the Children were taken by the latter to some other tribe, when they in turn became the Fathers. Thus manufactures peculiar to one tribe were often spread over a wide territory, and the handicraft of one region became known to different sections of the country. 182 439- 796*

STRUCTURE OF THE CEREMONY

The perpetuation and distribution of a ceremony is dependent upon its structure, its symbolism, and its purpose. Its parts must be so coordinated as to make it possible to keep the rite intact during oral transmission, while its symbolism must appeal to common beliefs and its purpose to common desires. 796*

Examining the ceremony of the Hako, we find it to possess these requisites. Its purpose awoke a response in every human heart, its symbolism appealed to the people wherever corn ripened and eagles flew; and though its structure was elaborate, it was built upon a sim-

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ing this the Ku'rahus says: "The first act of a man must be to set apart a place that can be made holy and consecrated to Tira'wa, a place where a man can be quiet and think about the mighty power." As the first part opens with the mention of Awahokshu, the holy place, the abode of Tira'wa, whence life is given to men by the intermediary powers, so the second part begins by indicating that man should set apart a holy place whence his thoughts can ascend to the powers which gave him life. The fixing of the sacred place made a center from which man's daily life could be set in order, and made the inauguration of rites possible—rites which served as a common bond to hold the community together. In the next stanza (VIII) the term h'Akaru is used. H' is the sign of breath, of the giving of life; akaru is a modification of akaro, a dwelling place. The change from ro to ru indicates that the word is typical rather than special. h'Akaru conveys the idea of an abode of life, a place where life (h', breath) can be received. The progression noted in the first part is here recalled; the power first mentioned after the holy place, Awahokshu, was Hotoru, the Wind, the giver of breath. The next stanza (IX) speaks of Keharu, an inclosure, the actual dwelling to be erected for the protection of life. Keharu seems to correspond to the male element which, in the first part, is represented by the Sun, the father, the giver of strength, and we find that throughout this ceremony the position of the feathered stem, representing the male, is upon the outside, where it acts as guard and protector, a wall of defense to the interior of the lodge, with its fireplace, which represents the nest (see line 44). The fireplace, Kataharu, is next mentioned (X). This is the center, where the life within the lodge is conserved; it represents the female principle. This stanza corresponds to the fourth of the first part, where h'Uraru, Mother Earth, is invoked. In the two following stanzas, Keharu, the glowing coals (XI), and Koritu, the flames, the word of the fire (XII), refer directly to the act of making fire by friction, a ceremony which seems to underlie most, if not all, aboriginal rites through which man appeals to the powers for the means of sustaining life, food, and drink (stanzas V and VI).

The first six stanzas of the second part seem to be a reflex of the six composing the first part. In the first part physical life is created, in the second part psychical life is recognized. By the institution of rites a way is opened through which man turns toward the powers which created him. In the seventh stanza of the second part (XIII), the passageway is spoken of. This passageway represents the ego, the path wherein man passes to and fro as he lives his individual and communal life.

The structure of this song is notable when taken by itself, but it becomes more remarkable when the scope of the ceremony is considered. It will then be seen that this opening song foreshadows the movement and purpose of the entire ceremony.

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From the first extra song we learn that the visions had a dwelling place called "Katasha," located just below the abode of the lesser powers. The visions could be summoned by these powers from Katasha and dispatched upon a mission. After its accomplishment, the visions returned to their dwelling place to "lie at rest" until again summoned by the powers. According to the Ku'rahus, visions were not transitory, called into being for some special occasion and then ceasing to exist, but they were of an enduring nature, retaining an identity by which they could be recognized by one whom they had visited. This differentiates the vision from the dream, which would seem to be the memory of a vision which came while one slept. Waking visions are not spoken of as dreams.

The Pawnees locate more or less definitely the powers which can affect man. In the above, far beyond the light, fleecy clouds, where no man has been or can see, dwells Tira'wa atius, the father of all, the giver of life and breath; in a circle below are the lesser powers, like a great council; beneath them is Katasha, the abode of the visions. The birds, the animals, and plants are intermediaries between man and the powers above and the powers below in the earth; they bring him the life and strength which is drawn by the powers from Tira'wa atius. Such is the outline, but the details are complex, no one power or intermediary being fixed or unchangeable in function or character.

The second extra song, as explained by the Ku'rahus, seems to point out that disaster is sometimes disciplinary and necessary to the strengthening of a man's purpose.

The third extra song teaches that when one dreams of Mother Corn one should go to a shrine where the sacred corn is kept and there offer smoke to the power which sent the corn to him in his dream.

EXTRA EIGHT SONG.

Diagram of Time

. .
. .
. .
. .

Rhythmic Rendition

I

Give heed! We tell of Katasha lody,
Whence the dreams come down, when draweth the night time near:
Near the gods[b] is their dwelling.
They who watch o'er men; all silently come they down.

[a] Music on page 132. [b] Gods, meaning powers, is used on account of the rhythm only.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
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automation (*Life*, July 19, 1963). Referred to as "sudden" in the magazine article, it should surely not be sudden to most of us. With the advantage of a clear consciousness of a long past and its major changes, we must accept change and move intelligently into the future. We must prepare for our new needs in a new society by opening to the light of questioning even our most basic institutions—the family, the home, modes and institutions of work, the character of administration, and our whole evaluation of everyday human experience. The Pawnee way is one of thousands of ways of life that mankind has developed. As a springboard for a reexamination of our own way of life it has the advantage of being so different from our own, and in fact from the whole patterning of Eurasiatic civilization, that a study of its ways and social interactions helps us to throw into sharp relief our most widely accepted hypotheses on the nature of "the basic human character" and to test whether some of these assumptions are in reality universal human nature or rather limited modes of learned behavior that we have developed for needs that are now becoming obsolete.

In its very essence, the Pawnee outlook on reality differs from our own. For us the material aspect is primary. On a second level of discourse, we place observed events; on a third level, which we count still less sure, is the "human factor"; and finally furthest removed from solid reality is the realm of ideas. In the Pawnee estimate of the world around him, the primary level of reality is thought. In our own story of creation, the deity shaped man out of clay, but the Pawnee deity—Vault-of-the-Heavens—began the process of creation with thoughts and so created the universe and the stars, and they in turn were to create man in their own image. When a Pawnee individual wanted to organize his life goals, he looked within himself in his thinking and was blessed by Heaven with a vision. In the Pawnee context, the *thinking* man was the essential human being. The universe continued its seasonal round only when man willed it through his thought of Heaven and its creative power. In creating man, Heaven had also created the moving force of the universe. In this order of things, events were an adjunct of *human* ongoing, and all the nonliving things were a fluid manifestation of the universal life process. A thing manufactured was a manifestation of a very personal skill, and a thing used was equally personal. The skill of the priest who kept the universe in motion and that of the arrowshaft maker had an analogous quality which was inherent in the person himself, and both were considered as dedicated public professions. For both living and nonliving things in the time of the creation, there were always two storms—one to build the empty structure and one for its continuity. This estimate of the nature of reality is almost the complete reverse of our own and is one of the many ways in which the Pawnee outlook contrasts rather sharply with ours.

As another contrast in values between the Pawnee and ourselves I

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of the Skidi villages of Village-across-a-Ridge and Pumpkin-Vine would join the Wolf-in-Water and Bottomland Village, and they would play rough and kick one another.

The location of the four bands was along the west side of Beaver Creek and the Skidi were in the westernmost position, the other three bands about half a mile away to the east. While according to past tradition, they always lived south of the Skidi and were referred to generally as "South Bands," they were now actually located to the east:

"The Skidi chief would sit on a high bluff and the Eastward (*tu-hawit*, "Settlement-east" chiefs sat on a bluff near their home and they would watch the boys. They said, "When we were boys we used to play like that and kick."

It would begin in the evening when the boys would call out, *hu-hu-hu*. Then the boys would hear and come outside. Folks would say to the small boys, "Don't go there, you'll get hurt," but some would steal out and join the fight anyway. When one side would be chased back, the older people would laugh and say, "Go back again. . . ."

When it got darker the little boys were told to go back and run home because the big boys were going to fight now—the sixteen-to-eighteen-year-olds. Then in the moonlight sometimes, the men of about thirty years old would fight, and then afterward the old men forty and over. The men would take blankets from one another and kick one another, but afterward they had to return the blankets.

This game was never played with the Skidi villages alone opposing one another, only between the Skidi Band as one party and the South Bands as the other. They never kicked hard—just for fun. If the South Band boys met the Skidi boys, there was always a kicking contest."

A similar game is reported between different divisions of the Comanches. [171]

The Pawnee Person

There is no simple formula for describing the intricate logic of the Pawnee people's lives. One thing is clear—that no one is caught within the social code. Against the backdrop of his natural environment, each individual stands as his own person. The Old World design for the human personality does not apply to this New World Man. The Pawnee child was born into a community from the beginning, and he never acquired the notion that he was closed in "within four walls." He was literally trained to feel that the world around him was his home—*kahuwaru*,

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screen stood in front of the beds of the mature women to give them privacy. The series of beds was interrupted by an open platform at each side to store current food supplies and household articles.

The long vestibule that gave entrance to the house projected outward from the eastern side of the circular walls. Inside, on both sides of the door to the house, was a working area in each of which a woodpile was braced against the walls. The rear or western wall of the house was the sacred area, the beds being ranged along the north and south walls. There were five platforms along each wall, the middle one for supplies and the four others fitted out as beds.

The boy, Otter, and his grandmother were sleeping on the north side of the house in the easternmost bed nearest the entranceway. The second bed next to theirs was occupied by another little boy, Yellow Calf, and his grandmother, Grieves-the-Enemy. Then came the supply platform for the north side and beyond that the bed of Horse Rider and his wife, No Corn. Horse Rider was an assistant to Otter's father, Victory Call, a prominent chief and religious leader. Victory Call and White Woman had the bed that was in the place of honor near the west.

Along the south wall of the house was another family. The head of that family was Old Bull, friend and associate of Victory Call and also a chief and religious leader. He occupied the west bed with his younger wife, Clear Day, and the next bed was occupied by the little girl, New Queen, their daughter. Then came the supply platform for the south side, and beyond that the bed of Queen Woman, Old Bull's senior wife with her little boy of three, and finally the easternmost bed on the south side for the grandmother, Blue Calico, who was the mother of the younger wife, Clear Day, and had the youngest child sleeping with her.

Everyone in the house knew his appointed place and where he could go and where he could not go. In the sacred area at the west was an earthen platform with a buffalo skull resting on it and above it hung a long, skin-wrapped bundle containing their most sacred objects, including two specially bred ears of corn. Between the fireplace and the buffalo altar, there was a sacred spot that was invisible—the *wi-haru*, "the place where the wise words of those who have gone before us are resting." Rather than step over this place in order to pass from one side of the house to the other, everyone walked around the entire house by way of the east. When the heads of the household sat down to rest or when they entertained important guests, it was near the west that they sat and no one would want to pass in front of them.

The house was a microcosm of the universe and as one was at home inside, one was also at home in the outside world. For the dome of the sky was the high-arching roof of the universe and the horizon all around was the circular wall of the cosmic house. Through the roof of the house the star gods poured down their strength from their appropriate directions in

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342 a constant stream. In the west was the Evening Star, a beautiful woman,
772 Goddess of Night and Germination, and in her garden the corn and buffalo were constantly being renewed so that the people could eat; and in the western part of the house the sacred buffalo skull and the bundle with its ears of corn symbolized this power. In the eastern sky was the Morning Star—god of light, of fire, and of war. As he rose every morning he sent his beam into the long entryway of the house and lit the fire in an act of cosmic procreation, symbolizing his first union with the Evening Star in the times of the great creation when he had had to fight off the guardians of night with which the Evening Star surrounded herself. Finally the conflict was won and Morning Star mated with Evening Star and fathered the girl that was the first human being to be placed on earth.

342 The house was at the same time the universe and also the womb of a
772 woman, and the household activities represented her reproductive pow-
353 ers. The beds of the women along the circular walls were appropriately
84 ranged by age to represent the main stages in a woman's life—the youngest women near the west where the garden of the Evening Star was located, the mature women in the middle of each side (due north and due south) and the beds of the old women near the exit to the east, for at their age they were "on the way out." Being at home was spoken of as being "inside"; *ti*-ka, he is-*inside*; the house, *a*-ka-*ru*, the *inside*-place; the universe, ka-*huraru*, the *inside*-land.

776 The supreme god and First Cause of all was *Tirawahat*, The Expanse
342 of the Heavens. Beyond all others, he directed everything and to his
[823] power there were four direct paths leading from the house to the sky in
[182] the four semicardinal directions—northwest, northeast, southeast, and southwest; offerings were made from these positions in the house so that they would be readily received.

361 Everyone in the house, including the boy, Otter, had a clear conscious-
342 ness of these things as they moved about within it. Now secure in his bed, the boy was also secure in the world. Outside there were a hundred houses like his, clustered close together on the high banks of Beaver Creek, and on the hills the sentinels were watching for the lurking enemy.
342 The round houses with their high-domed roofs were covered with thatch and then with tamped-down earth. As the fires began to be lit, smoke
[354] rose here and there from the smokeholes. Inside, the women were cook-
[252] ing breakfast as White Woman was now doing.

252 White Woman went over to the supply platform, loosened the draw-
262 string of the skin sack that contained dried corn kernels, and removed the skin cover. She poured a handful of dried kernels for each person into a
[251] large wooden bowl about 15 inches across and 3 inches deep. She washed the kernels at least twice to remove any dirt and chaff, then dumped them into a tin bucket of cold water that she hung over the fire to boil. Three

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with red buffalo-fat ointment. Four circles were made on the ground one in each of the semicardinal directions to symbolize the four quarters of the universe that the Morning Star had to pass as he approached the Evening Star. The circles were made by a man who stood in the middle and extended his toe as far as possible, drawing his foot on the ground as he turned. The tracks were filled with soft down feathers from the bundle. The priest smeared himself with red buffalo-fat ointment and suffused himself with sweet grass smoke. The actual ceremony could begin.

The priest of the Evening Star bundle sang the first part of the ritual and after a pause, the Morning Star priest took charge. He sang two songs. Then they had their meal. The Wolf man opened the next phase, bringing the girl to the altar where she was anointed by the priest with red ointment given to him by the war leader. They returned to their seats and the ceremony continued all night. The second day's ceremony was of the same kind. On the third day they continued to sing and dance, the war leader beginning the dance and then being joined by the others. The war leader took up the northeast pole from the fireplace with the fire still burning on its end and pointed it at the girl without touching her, first toward her right side then toward her left. Next he took first the southwest pole following the same procedure, then the northwest pole and then the southeast pole, following the prescribed order. Now, on the third day, the crowd of spectators became heavy and began to push into the lodge and tear holes in the roof so that they could witness the proceedings.

While the ceremony was going on in the lodge the priest gave directions for the preparation of the sacrificial scaffold. He sent men to find a suitable location a mile or two east of the village with a ravine or a series of dips in the ground to the east of it where the attacking warriors could hide during the ceremony. Wood for each part of the sacrificial frame had to be of special kinds: cottonwood for the two uprights; the four crossbars near the bottom serving as steps, each symbolizing one of the four semicardinal directions, the bottommost elm, then box elder, cottonwood, and willow, each associated with an animal power. Elm represented the bear and the northeast; box elder, the mountain lion and the southwest; cottonwood, the wildcat and the northwest; and willow, the wolf and the southeast. When the men reported back to the priest that they had located the wood, he gave them four strips of animal skin, each one of the appropriate animal with which to tie the crossbars to the frame. Near the top of the two uprights was another crossbar of willow, symbolizing Heaven, which was tied on with otter-skin to symbolize the renewal of life. They were instructed by the priest to dig a rectangular pit under the scaffold in area about the size of a buffalo robe commonly used to wrap a sacred bundle and 5 inches

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243 242 named ten, one being Osage. George F. Will, nurseryman and anthropologist of North Dakota, experimented with planting Indian corn from various tribes of the Missouri River region and managed to isolate nine pure strains of Pawnee corn. These correspond with considerable accuracy to those named by Mark Evarts. I have placed his classification as it appeared in his publication (Will and Hyde, 1919) in a parallel column alongside that of Mark Evarts. (See Table 11-1.)

TABLE 11-1. *Classifications of Varieties of Pawnee Corn.*

	As Named by Mark Evarts	As Named by Will and Hyde, 1919
1.	*Blue* corn—*uraax-katit*, earth-black, referring to very dark blue	Blue *flour* corn, No. 40
2.	*Spotted* corn, *rikis-tipiku*, corn-spotted (*ripiku*, egg)	Black-eyed and red-speckled corn, p. 308
3.	*White* corn, big kernels, *rikis-taka*, corn-white	White *flour* corn, No. 36
4.	White with small kernels, *rikis-paruksti*, corn-holy	Not identified by authors
5.	*Yellow* corn, harder variety, *rikis-taxkata*, corn-yellow	Yellow *flint*, No. 38
6.	A yellow corn, softer than No. 5, called *parus-arut*, rabbit-soft	Yellow *flour* corn, No. 37
7.	Hard corn, *kitsirit*, flinty, hard, translucent; real smooth, with different colored kernels on the same cob—white, spotted, yellow	Red *flint*, No. 89, flinty mixed colors with red predominating
8.	*Red* corn—*rikis-pahat*, corn-red	Red *flour* corn, No. 45
9.	Sweet corn—*rikis-karus*, corn-sweet, somewhat reddish yellow and sticky	Sweet corn, yellow sugar corn, No. 41
10.	Osage corn—*rikis-pasasi*, corn-Osage, gotten from Osage, grows 9-10 feet high and can have 8 or 9 ears on one stalk	

243 242 772 82 From the experiments of George Will, it is evident that the Pawnees were quite capable of producing pure strains of corn and maintaining the breeds. And yet when asked to list the classes of corn that they had, they did so in terms of a certain order of colors rather than by a horticultural classification. Consistent with the Pawnee belief that the Heavens are the first cause of all things, this is a cosmic rather than a botanical classification. In Pawnee theology, the four semicardinal directions are associated with the four color designations—northeast–black; southeast–white; northwest–yellow; and southeast–red. In the creation legend it is stated that in the western part of the ancient territory there were four villages,

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each representing one of the semicardinal directions; each had a different-colored ear of corn in its sacred bundle, as cited above. The order of the colors of corn followed by Mark Evarts in his classification if translated into directions are northeast, southwest, northwest, southeast. This diagonal succession forms a simple cross, the Pawnee symbol for a star. What star is implied is not known. Typically of Pawnee thought, there must be deeper theological meanings and references than are apparent. The order of naming the varieties of corn is clearly connected with these religious implications.

For the Pawnee, there is very little that does not have some direct connection with the cosmos. But in sharp contrast to the corn, the other two crops, squash and beans, have no religious connotations whatever. This lack of ideological involvement seems strange, as we know archaeologically that first squash and then beans were the earliest domesticated crops in the New World, followed after a considerable time interval by the domestication of corn. Among the Pawnees the whole horticultural cycle was conducted in terms of the corn. In the spring the corn was the first of the three crops to sprout, and in the fall it was the first to mature. There were seven common varieties of squash and pumpkins current among the Pawnees at that time and eight of beans. (See figures 11-1 and 11-2.)

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243 793 787 788 rooftops to see the priests get the young plant of the holy corn. The priests were wrapped in their buffalo robes with the hair side out and were rattling their gourds and singing. They felt it to be a long journey symbolically signifying the eons of the creation, and the song was sung to recapitulate all its stages—the stages that pertained to women (the land, the vegetation, the waters and the cultivated seeds), and the stages that pertained to men (the moccasin, its string, the robe, the power of the universe, Mother Corn, and the thunder). These stages of the [772] men symbolized conception and birth—the moccasin, a pocket-like covering into which something is thrust; the moccasin cord, the umbilical cord; the robe, the enveloping membrane of the foetus; the creative power of the universe, the sacred nature of conception and birth; Mother Corn, germination; and the thunder, the fertilizing principle. The little corn plant they uprooted in the field would symbolize all these things.

243 793 787 When they arrived at the sacred corn hill, they ranged themselves around it, the visionary to the west, the four semicardinal-directions priests in their appropriate stations. They again sang the steps of the creation as they sat in their places, and then the priests remained seated while the visionary rose and prepared to smoke his pipe with the powers above. He walked to the north side of the hill, where the errand man [782] lighted his pipe, then proceeded around it, pausing to offer the mouthpiece to the powers in the order directed by the Evening Star priest before they had left the lodge. He offered it to Heaven, the Evening Star, the Morning Star, the Big Black Meteoric Star in the northeast, the North and Lucky Wind, a great legendary hero *Pahukatawa*, then southeast to the Sun and southwest to the Moon. Next he emptied the ashes on the corn hill and gave the pipe to the ranking priest. Then he sat down at the west and in counterclockwise order beginning at the northeast he pressed into the cornhill a gift of little pellets of buffalo-heart fat and tongue fat wrapped around with some tobacco. He alternated his offerings, beginning with tongue fat at the northeast and heart fat at the northwest, and so on.

Now the most solemn part of the ceremony was to be enacted. They were to uproot the sacred corn sprout in a symbolic act of birth. The visionary stood at the west and instructed the Southwest (or Southeast) priest to ease the plant out of the ground very gently so that he would not disturb any part of the delicate roots. The roots symbolized the moccasin strings and the seeds, the moccasin or covering for power. The priest wrapped the "newborn" plant in buffalo wool and handed it to the visionary, who placed it on his back in his buffalo robe as a woman carries her child. Now they began again to sing the steps of the creation and lined up preparatory to returning to the ceremonial lodge. Everyone in the village was watching and listening as they sang on their way back.

793 243 In the lodge, the Evening Star priest unwrapped the plant from its

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15

THE GREAT CLEANSING CEREMONY

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A Summary Ceremony—a Symbolic Washing of All Ceremonial Objects—a History of the Ceremony—Celestial and Doctors' Symbolism Combined—Ceremony Explained—Participation of People in Ceremony

THE GREAT CLEANSING CEREMONY that was held before leaving on the hunt was, in effect, a summary of all the Pawnee religious beliefs and practices. In Pawnee ideology, the sky was one realm and the earth and the waters another. The priests were in charge of the cosmic ceremonies, and the medicine men, or doctors, were in charge of the animals that were connected with the earth and the waters. In this last category, the physical structure of man and his physical health were included. But ultimately, according to Pawnee thought, the sky was the first cause and the continuing source of power in both realms. The doctors conducted a separate cycle of ceremonies from the priests, and in the fall, at the gala ceremony that was held after the harvest was in, they acknowledged their celestial origin by hanging buffalo-hide cutouts of the Morning Star and the other sky gods from the ceiling of the ceremonial lodge. During the forthcoming summer hunt, a specially selected doctor would kill a buffalo bull and a cow to provide the skins for this purpose and another bull and cow to build up the images of their own special gods.

The central feature of the ceremony they would now conduct was the carrying of all the sacred objects to the stream, there washing them symbolically. Then the people would clean up the whole village and wash themselves in the stream. This great cleansing ritual was under the direction of the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the northeast of the semi-cardinal-direction bundles. In mythohistory this god was a sort of master

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of general ceremonial procedure. He was also the patron of knowledge as indicated in the star chart attached to his sacred bundle, and also patron of the knowledge of the earth and the waters and the doctors, who took care of this aspect of man's life. He controlled the coming of the night, the animals, and, particularly, the buffalo.

The Great Cleansing Ceremony was conducted under his tutelage twice a year just before going out on the hunt. It combined the symbolisms from both the celestial and the earth and water realms. In the creation ritual held after the first thunder in the spring, the systematic theology of the cosmos was given. The doctors also had a systematic ideology of their own. While many of their curing practices and behavior had much in common with other individual North American Indian shamans or medicine men, all their animal cults were organized into a unified association outside of which no one was able to practice lest he be accused of witchcraft operations. Traditionally, this was founded in the Pumpkin-Vine Village where all the men were doctors. This village was anciently supposed to have been associated with Village-Lying-across-a-Ridge. The association of the doctors was attributed to a single founder who experienced a series of visions that formed an integral system, paralleling in a sense the formation of the political federation of villages. The visionary had a series of visions in an animal lodge that was located under the water, where he learned the true nature of the animals and illusionist techniques of sleight of hand and other arts of suggestion as modes of curing and of influencing events. He was also taken over the country by the animals in his subsequent visions and taught the value of different roots and herbs. Eventually he invited a few other men to his house and shared the mysteries with them. After the harvest and the summer buffalo hunt, still others were invited and learned from these new doctors. They constructed little lodges of willows and cottonwoods inside the earth lodge, and to each the leader gave the skin of an animal that was to characterize his cult. Within his individual booth, the animal would instruct the new recruit in a dream. Then calling each in turn, the original visionary, through a process of hypnotic transfer, taught each head doctor the songs and dances of his special cult. Dressed in their animal-skin costumes, these men danced and were taught the arts of suggestion and sleight of hand. First they practiced hypnotizing one another and then, going out of the lodge, made a public display of their powers. After the ceremony they deposited in the water of the stream, the little lodges they had built and the images they had made. When they got home, they were told to hold their dances in winter and spring after the first thunder, but not to display their hypnotic and sleight-of-hand powers until the fall, when all had returned to the village after the summer hunt. A great public ceremony was to be held for the benefit of the people, lasting two or three

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load the other horses. Horse Rider helped No Corn to dismount and at once began to unload the mare. They untied the straps and removed the tent cover first and then the buckets so that Horse Rider could go and fill them with water from the river. Everyone was thirsty and wanted a drink.

*224 361 *484 772

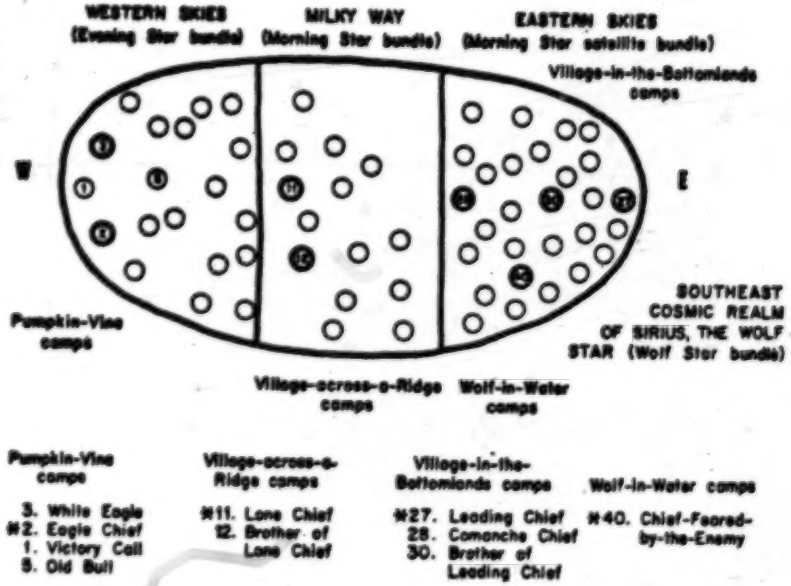

FIGURE 17-1. Pawnee plan of encampment while on the hunt, following a cosmic pattern as in the Skidi earth-lodge villages.

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Now Victory Call and White Woman untied and took off all the rawhide containers, and Victory Call removed the saddle from his horse and let him go. The next job was to remove and tie up all the rawhide ropes that were hanging from the saddles of the packhorses so that the saddles could be removed and the horses set free. White Woman began tightening the first rope on the front right side of one of the horses, then the rear right, then the rear left, and finally the front left. No Corn was helping her, and, if Horse Rider was back, he would pitch in and help too. The men removed the saddles and set everything out so that the sun would strike them where the horses had sweated and they were damp.

When Horse Rider had arrived with the buckets of fresh water, he said, "This water is still cold. Better take a drink." Everyone was thirsty and they were all glad to get it. Then Victory Call would say, "Go hobble the horses," and Horse Rider went directly. It was important to hobble the mare, especially since all the horses were likely to stay around

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was pointed toward the nose of the buffalo skull that rested below on the altar platform, and a few kernels dropped there so that Father Buffalo might eat.

Few ceremonial acts of the Pawnee were so obscure that they could not be understood in terms of his "logic of the universe." A rhythm of alternation of cosmic powers was a very important phase of that logic. The winter and the summer, the night and the day, succeeded each other in a never-ending round. The powers of the south succeeded the powers of the north and the powers of the east followed those of the west. As these two rhythms were combined, the semicardinal directions ran their biennial course—northwest, southwest, northeast, southeast—and for each of these a sacred bundle took charge of the tribe in its turn through the alternate seasons. In many functions of his life, including the household, the Pawnees followed this alternating principle. As he valued these alternating rhythms of the universe, he also followed a pattern of rotation of power and responsibility in all phases of his life, particularly in his political life and in his appeal to the cosmos.

Three ceremonies celebrated the harvest, each representing a different aspect of the sacred tradition. The first for the *Green Corn* was under the Evening Star bundle that embodied the tradition of the original creation of the universe and its yearly renewal.

The second was the main harvest ceremony and was celebrated when the *Mature Corn* was gathered. It was under the authority of the four semicardinal-direction bundles that carried the theme of the progression of the seasons and the growth of the sacred corn into their major deity, Mother Corn.

The third ceremony celebrated the alliance of the Skidi villages in their political and religious life. Appropriately, it was conducted under the aegis of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person. This represented the cult of the visionary chief who in past times had gathered them all together and established their organization. It was known as the *Four-Pole Ceremony*—signifying the four semicardinal directions, which taken together, represented the whole world. In the course of the ceremony warriors went out symbolically in all directions to see that their land was safe.

The Pawnees had a marked preference for complex ceremonial symbolism, and each of these cosmic authorities had a somewhat variant "ceremonial vocabulary" that was systematically organized in the lore of its sacred bundle, which also contained the paraphernalia for its performance.

The ceremonial pattern of the green corn ceremony under the Evening Star bundle was ritually quite simple. No songs were sung by the priests and no dances carried out. When the people were getting ready to settle back in the village, the Evening Star priest called in the other four

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The Return from the Hunt

After their travels over the snow and ice, they were glad to return to the warmth of their homes.

Soon the thunder would sound from the south. Then the priests would call down the gods from the heavens to re-create the earth and Wonderful would come down from his home in the western skies and walk the land that the gods had made—in all his aspects as the lightning, the thunder, the storm—going on the hill, the plain, the prairie—in the bottomlands, across the water, in the village and back to his home in the western skies where he would rest.

The new year would begin—the house, the food pit, the hunt, the harvest and again the winter hunting time. But there came a time when the year would not begin for the Pawnee. For beyond the Pawnee universe was the outer world and from it would come its destruction after six hundred years, and a new world would be born.

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not help his wife was likely to have scanty stores of food." (Wilson, 1917, p. 115, footnote 1.) 000

On the winter hunt, Uncle War Cry, head brave of the Skidis, considered the most aggressive personality in the tribe, did not hesitate to thin and dry the buffalo meat pending the arrival of the women of his family. The taunts of the other men did not affect him (see p. 435). The desirability of helping one's wife was also stated in connection with harvesting (see pp. 242, 244). Taking all of the Americas, in the more highly developed civilizations—Peru, Mexico, and Central America and the southwestern Pueblos—men did the gardening; basketry was made by the men among some of the Amazon tribes; and among the southwestern Pueblo peoples, some were made by men some by women. 462 251 462 191

57 On the Comanche version of the "kick" game, see Wallace and Hoebel, 1952, general account pp. 8-14, specific reference p. 9. 000

63-64 On the analogy between the cosmic universe outside and the inside of the earth lodge, see Fletcher, 1904, pp. 325-326, "The sun's ray has walked around the lodge and touched all within, then climbs out and rests upon the tops of the hills that stand as a wall and inclose as a lodge the abode of the people." 342 772

64 On the kindness and closeness of the cosmic gods see the song sung by Effie Blane—"The Thunder Spoke Quietly" (Densmore, 1929, p. 61). "A certain young man was afraid of the storm and wept when he heard the thunder, but in a dream the thunder spoke softly and said, 'Do not be afraid, your father is coming.'" He heard the thunder sing a song and learned it and sang it when he went to war. His name was Eagle, and he lived to be one of the old warriors of the tribe. (See McDermott, 1940, for Tixier's account.) Tixier remarks on the Osage report of the courage of the Pawnee warrior (p. 223): "Dark stormy nights are the ones the Pawnee choose by preference to attack." In 1954 on a visit to Pawnee, Oklahoma, I was watching television with my old friend, Mrs. Blanche Matlock, when a thunderstorm broke. She remarked that the Pawnees were not afraid of the storm," on the contrary they were part of it and went out into it. 796 533 787 821 157 821 721 114 821

68, 238, 268-270 On the European Neolithic food pit, see Burkitt, 1924, p. 7. On archaeological examples of Pawnee food pits, see Wedel, 1936, pp. 53-54. An early Linwood site has a pit 11 feet deep and 10 feet across the bottom. "All (historic and protohistoric examples) are of the usual bell shape . . . with smooth beaten walls, curving evenly downward and outward from the mouth, a slightly depressed, usually bark-covered floor. Sand was present beneath the bark in at least four of the caches opened at the Hill site." See also Hodge, 1912, Vol. I, pp. 178-179; Vol. II, pp. 172 251